A Swedish View of Galway in 1893 : Hugo Vallentin's "Letters from Home-Rule Land"

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A SWEDISH VIEW OF GALWAY IN 1893: HUGO VALLENTIN'S "LETTERS FROM HOME-RULE LAND".

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In 1893, the Gothenburg-born journalist Hugo Vallentin[1], starting out in what would become a distinguished career in journalism, wrote a series of six "Letters from Home-rule Land" in the liberal Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet*.[2] The Second Home Rule Bill was a matter of considerable interest and discussion throughout Europe, and widespread sympathy for William Gladstone's policies had gradually started to outweigh the negative perceptions of Ireland and the Irish people that had developed (not least as a result of news about Ireland being mediated through the London press) in the preceding decades.

Vallentin sought to provide his Swedish readers with a nuanced first-hand account of the politics and society of contemporary Ireland, resulting in a conversational, colourful series of interviews and observations from around the country.[3] Although he was later remembered as a "journalist of brilliant talents and strong individuality," and renowned as the Swedish translator of George Bernard Shaw's works, the publication history of the "Letters from Home-rule Land" reflect his junior position at the time – the six instalments were not promoted in any way, and they appeared at irregular intervals during the autumn of 1893. Despite a reasonable introduction, and the first three articles appearing in successive weeks, they finish very abruptly, with no real overall conclusion.[4] This might reflect a decrease in editorial interest after the House of Lords' veto of the Home Rule Bill in September 1893 (the final three articles, after the Bill was rejected, were spread out over more than two months), but nevertheless the series provides valuable details of life in 1890s Ireland.

This article therefore presents summaries and context for the first five articles,

which described Vallentin's progress from Dublin through Cork and Killarney to Limerick, and then a fuller account of the sixth letter, "The Spanish City" recounting his two-day stay in Galway under the guidance of the well-known local doctor, Patrick Rice.[5]

I – HOME RULE LAND[6]:

The first of Hugo Vallentin's "Letters from Home Rule Land" was published in *Aftonbladet* in August 1893, just three weeks before the Second Home Rule Bill's third and final reading received final assent in the House of Commons. Vallentin noted that "struggle" of "Ireland for the Irish" would soon have been raging for a whole century (presumably he dated the "struggle" from the Act of Union), and so he invited readers to reflect on its origins and likely outcome – it was, he argued, a question of interest to the whole of the "civilised world". Moreover, his personal liberal, pro-Home Rule sympathies are apparent in his criticism of British landlords and legislators who, he believed, displayed an incredible ignorance of Ireland and its people:

> It is not that surprising that Ireland is so little known or understood, when Irish "gentlemen" (effectively English)… have an astonishing ignorance of Ireland. One finds landowners who have only ever seen their Irish possessions on a map. They travel around the globe, but not over the Irish Sea.

When Vallentin announced to his London colleagues that he would visit the West of Ireland in June 1893, they expressed fears for his safety, and bewilderment that he would travel unarmed. He joked that "it is about as necessary to be armed in the West of Ireland as if you are going through [the rural Swedish provinces of] Småland or Dalarna." He did not claim to have all the answers to the Irish Question, but nevertheless he believed that his snapshots of Irish life would be of interest to the readers of *Aftonbladet*.

Setting the scene further, Vallentin recounted a visit to the House of Commons, giving brief sketches of the *dramatis personae* of a Home Rule debate he had witnessed – Harcourt, Morley, Asquith, Goschen, Chamberlain and Gladstone, and Thomas Sexton representing the Irish Nationalists. Hour after hour, Vallentin wrote, they "talk and vote, vote and talk" about Ireland's fate.

Vallentin took advice from Dublin-based friends about the main sites of the capital. He did not, apparently, get particularly imaginative recommendations: "O'Connell Street[7], Bank of Ireland, Phoenix Park and Guinness." On arrival, he got through these activities relatively quickly before starting to interview figures of interest. He

thought that his friends' suggestions had been sound but wanted to make personal additions: Dublin had "many statues, half of the English army, all of the Catholic church, beautiful ladies, 'outside cars', and a lot of whisky [sic.]". Otherwise, after his orientation trip, Vallentin observed the wealth of pubs, whisky-inns and wine shops, adding a wry conclusion: "the good burghers of Dublin never need to go thirsty."

II – DUBLIN[8]:

Vallentin's letters of introduction gave him access to some of Dublin's most prominent newspaper editors, and he sought information from across the political spectrum. His first meeting – representing Conservative / Unionist opinion – was with George Valentine Patton, editor of the Dublin *Daily Express*, and the Dublin correspondent of the London *Times*.[9] Vallentin heard a relatively objective account of nineteenth-century Irish history (albeit "through unionist spectacles"). Patton argued that the Irish question was mainly an "agricultural question", one that was blown out of proportion by agitators, and that – although there may have been some just grievances – Irish smallholders were now better circumstanced than their Scottish and English equivalents. Local self-government, he thought, could be beneficial, but "never" Home Rule.

From the *Daily Express* office at Cork Hill, Vallentin had a short walk to Trinity Street, where the "Parnellite organ" the *Daily Independent* had been based since being founded in the aftermath of the Parnell split. Vallentin noted the portraits and cartoons of Parnell which adorned the office, along with a banner proclaiming "Parnell Should Not Be Forgotten Tonight", recalling William Redmond's exclamation after the second reading of the Home Rule Bill earlier in 1893. The Tuam-born Edward Byrne[10], editor of the *Daily Independent*, was not around so Vallentin stepped into the Temple Bar streets for a while, where he tried to engage a policeman about "Dublin's darker side". However, according to the policeman, Dublin had no "dark side", and unlike London the city had no "dangerous neighbourhoods". Eventually Dr. Byrne made his appearance, and "despite his busy schedule" spent some time providing a Parnellite perspective. Byrne said that he was a Catholic himself, with "great respect for the church", but that the "power of the priesthood was too great". He suggested that the priests had taken the first opportunity to attack Parnell, who was a potential rival to their power, especially in the countryside. Vallentin bemoaned the fact that the biggest split in Ireland was not between Unionist and Nationalist, but between Parnellite and Anti-Parnellite. For an Anti-Parnellite view, Vallentin took a trip out to Ballybrack the next morning, in the hope of meeting Michael Davitt.

III – MICHAEL DAVITT[11]:

Vallentin enjoyed a "delightful rail-journey" south along Dublin Bay, where he was delighted to observe women and children shrimping, and "cheerful white-clad young women" promenading "under a clear blue sky". He was heading for Ballybrack, equipped with a letter of introduction, to meet Michael Davitt. On arrival at "Land League Cottage", on Military Road, however, Vallentin found that the "Father of the Land League" had been delayed on a trip back from London, and it was unclear when he would arrive, or whether he would have time for an interview. Vallentin was distressed that he might miss the chance to talk to "such an interesting person, so deeply involved in the struggle for Irish freedom". They met up, in fact, at the Swede's hotel the next morning, and so that they could talk more freely, Davitt took Vallentin to the headquarters of the Irish National Federation.

Aftonbladet readers got an account of Davitt's life and career to date, and it is interesting to note that Vallentin described him as a "socialist, whose position is very close to that of John Burns[12]", and quoted Davitt's assertion that the Irish Question was essentially a question of land ownership, that large estates needed to give way to peasant proprietors, and that "Home Rule is only the first stage" towards a more equal society in Ireland. In a wide-ranging interview, Davitt outlined the connections (and divisions) between land, labour and nationalism in Ireland. It is also notable that Davitt spoke to the Swede freely about Irish ambivalence towards socialism:

> Home Rule is just the first step. The Irish struggle is itself really a socialistic agitation, though the people themselves don't realise it. The word socialism would scare them. Whereas others elsewhere talk about socialism, we act. That is much better.

Vallentin wrapped up his report by noting that "Davitt gave me a great deal of advice, and introductions, for my journey south- and westwards, and we parted, once he had declared his wish to visit Sweden soon, and bring John Burns with [him]" a visit that Vallentin was sure would be met by Swedes with a "*Cead millee failthe* [sic] – A Hundred Thousand Welcomes!"[13]

IV – CORK TO GLENGARRIFF[14]:

Vallentin left on the morning train from Dublin to Cork, with rain "whipping" the carriage, something which added to the "gloomy impression" of the landscape. He noticed few signs of human activity, other than haystacks and potato patches, and abandoned cottages which, he averred, were "memorials to evictions". During the

trip, he consulted *Cook*'s guidebook to get acquainted with Ireland's "third city", and read that Cork had "pretty streets" and surroundings of great beauty – something which he rather cynically dismissed on arrival, while acknowledging that the appalling weather might have affected his mood. He spent some time in his hotel bar, observing the life, characters and commerce of the city, as people took refuge from the torrential rain. One of his main observations was of the prevalence of emigration agents, and would-be emigrants.

Queenstown, he said, was the primary town for Ireland's most important export – "its own sons and daughters." Vallentin quoted *Cook*'s cheerful assertion that "it is hardly necessary to mention that in Queenstown, the door to Ireland is always open to friends from the other side of the ocean," adding sardonically that the guidebook failed to mention the same door remained permanently open for the "never-ending stream of the country's own oppressed and impoverished children, who on 'the other side of the ocean' must seek the living denied to them by their homeland's harsh land and even harsher landlords."

Landlordism was a theme that Vallentin held on to as he pushed westwards, firstly by train to Bantry, and then in a coach up to Glengarriff. The scenery, he thought, was "wild and magnificent, with beautiful, wonderful light effects as the sun breaks through the clouds that hang over the mountains." After alighting at Roche's Hotel[15], Vallentin and "an English doctor" – a companion on the coach – headed off independently to speak to a group of evicted tenants they had passed earlier on the roadside – a large family, sheltering in a hastily-assembled shack. Asked why some of the older children did not work to support the family, the reply, "as so often heard in Ireland", was that "there is no work to be got, sir." This encounter brought the narrative back to the need for Irish people to emigrate to North America as the only viable route to escaping poverty.

V – THROUGH THE CLOUDS[16]:

Early the next morning, Vallentin and the five other passengers set off to Ireland's "tourist capital" – Killarney – in a coach drawn by four horses. The hotel owner had predicted a "wet day" ahead, and as the coach clattered over the mountain roads, Vallentin's "waterproof" overcoat became sodden, and he perceived not so much rain, as "a solid mass of water". He noted the "long tunnel" at the Cork-Kerry border, as they pushed on to Kenmare.[17] During the journey, children chased the coach looking for "a penny" and at a coach-house, Vallentin's group was immediately "surrounded by a group of old crones, real witch types, yellow and wrinkled" who, through a

hybrid of Gaelic and English, offered small souvenirs for sale.

Despite the element of adventure, Vallentin was relieved to arrive at Killarney ("full civilisation"), where a decent meal, and an efficient drying room, met the beleaguered travellers. From Killarney he re-joined the railway to Limerick, but with a couple of his companions he decided to make a detour to New Tipperary.[18] After describing the political background to New Tipperary – built in 1890 the result of a well-publicised standoff between Arthur Hugh Smith-Barry and the Irish National League[19] – Vallentin also mentioned that the "old town" did not look any better – empty houses, closed shops, and "a few humans, gloomy and despondent."

Limerick presented the Swede with another interesting encounter. He arrived at the station, and was surprised to see "a terrible fuss and huge congestion" – the station "crammed" with people, police, and "redcoats", and the strains of "God Save The Queen" in the air. It transpired that Lord Houghton, the recently-installed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was in town as part of a wider tour of the west, and was leaving Limerick after attending an agricultural show.[20] In contrast to Cork, where Vallentin was wet and miserable, and seemed to spend most of his time in the hotel bar, he enjoyed Limerick, walking around the town in the company of an unnamed "distinguished member of the National League" (a meeting facilitated by Michael Davitt). He took in the main tourist sites, but conceded that Limerick, "like most Irish towns in this part of the country" had regressed economically from its heyday. Walking through the old part of the town he reported roofless houses occupied by impoverished families. From Limerick, Vallentin travelled to Galway where, he had been assured, he would find "the most Irish Ireland".

VI – THE SPANISH CITY[21]:

Vallentin's introduction to Galway presented both the town, and his own expectations of the visit:

> On the west coast of Ireland on a broad Atlantic cove, is the ancient, remarkable town of Galway. It was said to me that there and in the area around, I would find the most Irish Ireland… an old deserted city, half-ruined, villages where agrarian oppression was at its worst, where people still dressed in national costume, and where the notorious Irish pigs still lived in the cottages. I found all this and many other strange things, but the first and strongest impression I got from Galway was the strange Spanish character that existed there.

As he got acquainted with the "narrow, winding streets", Vallentin's eyes were drawn

to the "Moorish Horseshoe Arch" on Galway's sandstone houses, many of which were in a dilapidated state. He also attributed the appearance of the local people to the Spanish connection – the streets were thronged as it was a fair day. They were "dark in complexion, like gypsies, with jet-black hair and dark, flashing eyes". The men were wearing knee-breeches, and shoes with buckles, while the women tended to wear "gaudy, reddish colours with large black robes draped over their heads." Although he did not understand any Gaelic, the very fact that English seemed to be so little spoken "heightened the atmosphere" and kept Vallentin in something of a reverie.

As in Limerick, Vallentin had the benefit of a local guide, arranged by Michael Davitt. In Galway, however, Vallentin revealed the identity of his "indefatigable Cicero" – the local doctor, Patrick McGuiness Rice: "a great deal of goodwill and courtesy met me everywhere I went in Ireland, but that given to me from Dr. Rice in Galway surpassed everything. And that says a lot."

> Dr. R. was one of the town's two doctors, and therefore had an extensive and onerous practice… He knew every corner of the city, its history and fortunes. Every person who lived there, and in its surrounding villages. A more popular man I do not believe could be found in the neighbourhood. All over the place kind nods or respectful greetings were given to the doctor, the judge (he was also a JP), and above all the friend. [22]

Vallentin marvelled at Rice's humanity, sense of humour, and his deep knowledge of all the members of the community, "from the old grandmother who only had a few words of English and who sat down in front of the burning turf fire smoking her pipe, to the smallest young child, who he had seen coming in to the world".[23] He also explained to his readers that the doctor was a nationally-known political activist, a longstanding supporter of Home Rule, who had rejected requests to stand as a member of parliament.[24] One of Rice's tasks was to administer to inmates at Galway Gaol, and he had thus been a regular visitor to William O'Brien and John Dillon during their periods of incarceration in 1889 and 1891.[25] By introducing Vallentin to Rice, Michael Davitt guaranteed that the Swede got a detailed tour of Galway from a trusted and respectable anti-Parnellite.[26]

Vallentin's first question related to the town's "Spanish character", which Rice explained resulted from longstanding trade relations between Galway and the Iberian Peninsula, as well as (to a lesser extent) the settlement of shipwrecked Armada sailors in the sixteenth century. To illustrate this connection, the first site that the pair visited was the Lynch Crossbones, near St. Nicholas' Church – "a legend that belongs to the town's curiosities." This legend was well established in the tourist literature and

was considered an important part of any brief tour of Galway.[27] Vallentin gave the following version of events:

> One of the town's sheriffs, Lynch, who had considerable business with Spain, sent his young son to greet the business associates in that land. After about a year he returned, bringing with him a young Spaniard, the son of one of these businessmen. The Spaniard fared well in Galway, and the young men were inseparable. However, fate decreed that they fell in love with the same girl, and so the friendship ended. Presently, one day young Lynch lured his guest out in a boat, threw him in the sea and rode away. The Spaniard was drowned, and Lynch was accused of murder, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. Lynch was, however, so popular in Galway that it was impossible to get anyone who would carry out the judgement. But the law stated that, if no executioner could be found, then the sheriff had to carry out the execution himself. And so, Sheriff Lynch was forced to hang his son by his own hand.[28]

From the seventeenth-century legends of Galway, Vallentin was brought abruptly into the modern day by a short walk to James Perry's Corrib hydroelectric schemes.

> The rapids, where the salmon congregated (sometimes as tightly as a shoal of herring), had other benefits. A turbine drove a dynamo, and when the evening came, the arc lamps cast blue moonlight amidst the quays of the old town, and the copper wire was wound daily into more and more buildings.[29] But not only that. I have had the opportunity here, in old half-ruined Galway, to see electricity generated in way I had not seen before, and as a journalist this interested me greatly.[30]

Rice then took Vallentin down to Eyre Square, and the offices of the *Galway Express*, the town's main Conservative / Unionist mouthpiece.[31] They had a short meeting with the paper's editor, the Scottish-born John MacDougall, who despite being "a fanatical supporter of the union" was said to be on good terms with all sections of the community. Vallentin took this as proof that supposed Catholic and Nationalist prejudice towards Protestants / Unionists in Ireland was "greatly exaggerated" in the London and international press. As a newspaper man, Vallentin was also delighted to see that MacDougall's office boasted the latest technology:

> everything was neat and tidy… the bulbs shone with bright and even light, but the most startling impact came with the printing press, which was driven by electricity. [32] The whole device was not huge, and you could comfortably have taken it under your arm and marched along with it. Though this modern power source had only just been adopted – when I saw it, it had only been used for a day – everything worked just as smoothly as could have been wished. It

> was somewhat dissonant to come in from the old-fashioned atmosphere in the alleys, to here where the lifeblood of the nineteenth century shone and pulsed.

The next day, Rice took Vallentin out into the countryside in his "outside car". Firstly, they headed for The Claddagh, which Vallentin described as a "few long rows of low, whitewashed stone houses" – mainly with just one room and with turf roofs, with fishing nets and equipment strewn about – where "cleanliness is not over-emphasised". Apart from the presence of "a couple of 80-year old blokes with yellow and wrinkled Atlantic-weathered faces", only women and children were to be seen. The men were out at the fishing and not expected back for some time. In some of the houses, Vallentin mused darkly:

> there was no reason to be waiting for anyone at all, as the family breadwinners had been away for so long, that their bones were surely decaying with the algae far out on the sandy ocean floor.

From Claddagh they went out into the country, to the Clanricarde lands, where Vallentin found an utterly demoralised tenantry, "human beings of the very basest nature".[33] He described the Marquess of Clanricarde[34] as being "notoriously harsh, to the extent of being disowned by his own political allies", and highlighted the extraordinary levels of emigration which prevailed:

> … of the village's 240 houses, only 70 remained. The rest stood deserted with wrecked roofs and broken walls – the legacy of evictions. One literally walked among the ruins… I spoke with several of these tenant farmers and they explained, that they were in great difficulty, as "the landcourt"[35] had set a lease from which they could not escape. One tenant, who rented twelve acres, now paid £4 per year, which does not sound much, but bear in mind that of these twelve acres only three are viable farmland, while the rest is rocks, where it would be difficult even for a goat to find nourishment.

Although Vallentin had expected to find rural poverty, the contrast between these Connacht tenants and the comparatively well-circumstanced peasant proprietors of his homeland, was extremely stark. Small, single-room cabins, with tiny holes for windows and inefficient chimneys leaving the interior dark with soot, "as though it had been black-polished". As for the tenants themselves:

> In many places they neither understood nor spoke English, especially the older inhabitants. One was greeted by the Gaelic "Cead mille failthe" (sic) [a hundred thousand welcomes], on entering, and a greeting, which my Doctor friend translated into English as "God speed you"[36] followed us out of the door.

Vallentin was also fascinated by the relationship between the human inhabitants of these settlements and the "renowned Irish pig". Most of the tenants he visited had a pig and, although some denied it, he believed that the beast generally indoors with the family (including, in one case, "under the bed!") Although Dr. Rice "reproached them for their filth", the general response was that the pig could only be fattened sufficiently by allowing it to live inside. This was essential for the domestic economy, because:

> not a single one of these pigs was destined to be sacrificed on the altar of the home. All would end up, in due course, in the pig abattoirs, and after putting some money by to purchase a new piglet, the remainder would provide many mouths with the bread that the stone-bound earth would not supply.

The people that Vallentin encountered were generally the old and very young – "as the middle-aged had, more often than not, been forced over to America", and he noted that most of the women wore what he described as "national dress, red skirts and black coats, home-made with the thick, apparently indestructible 'frieze'".[37] He saw the frieze being woven in one of the cottages, and wondered how they could wear clothes "more suited to the North Pole climate" during such a hot summer day. The men wore traditional dress less often, but knee-breeches seem to have been quite ubiquitous during Vallentin's day in the Galway countryside. "During the morning", he recorded:

> we visited 20 to 25 cabins. In the vast majority of cases they were all alike. Dung heaps and cesspools outside, turf smoke and rags inside, a lonely, little pipesmoking wifey in front of the fire, guarding a loaf of bread, baking in the ash. Or five or six women of various ages, sitting silently on the small, low, chairs, big-eyes, brown-haired children and sometimes a bed-ridden invalid.

These cabins were at Menlo Village, and the single exception to the squalor was a cottage, as neat and tidy as a "doll's house", where through "tremendous energy and great housekeeping" the occupiers had made the most of their limited resources. Dr. Rice explained, however, that the husband was a "coachman on a nearby estate", whereas the couple's two daughters were in America, "where they had excellent positions". With this in mind, it might be presumed that this particular household potentially had a much higher income than its neighbours.

The "outside-car" proceeded to ivy-clad ruins of Menlo Castle, which Vallentin noted had been a large and wealthy estate, but "through the waste and neglect of several generations, it [had] suffered complete decay and became as indebted as could be."[38] Dr. Rice narrated some of the castle's history, and Vallentin's account concluded

somewhat abruptly, with an account of sir Thomas Blake:

> a colossal waster and got into debt right up over his ears. When no credit was available in Ireland, he sent orders for all kinds of necessities – furniture, drinks, food and everything imaginable – to businesses in England. Initially, they were attracted by the fine title and the name Menlo Castle but eventually the fun stopped and debt-collectors began to lay siege to the castle. To avoid them, and so as not to be arrested, Sir Thomas remained indoors, for they could not gain access to him. This captivity, however, only applied to weekdays, for the law prohibited debt enforcement on Sundays. So Sir Thomas stayed indoors all week, only to march out on Sundays, unconcerned about the bailiffs, who dared not seize him. People laughingly gave him the title "the Sunday Man".[39] About his son, the current proprietor, there are even more strange things to be told, but as Rudyard Kipling says, "that's another story"[40], and would demand a special chapter.

No further chapters were added to this particular series, however, and the "Letters from Home-rule land" stopped, with Vallentin in Galway, in early November, 1893.

CONCLUSION:

With his trip to Ireland, and subsequent "Letters from Home-rule Land", Vallentin saw an opportunity to give a nuanced account of Ireland to Swedish readers, as well as make a name for himself as a journalist. By 1894, he had become editor of the satirical magazine, *Sondags-Nisse*, where he remained until 1901, when a quarrel with the editorial board saw him leave and establish a rival, *Puck*. Both of these newspapers reflected his own liberal outlook. In 1910, he left *Puck* and settled permanently in London, initially as correspondent for *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*.[41] He was well-known in London social circles, and his house at Adelphi, off The Strand, became known as an "unofficial Swedish Embassy."[42] It was noted later that he had worked effectively as an intermediary when Sweden's relations with Great Britain became strained during the Great War.[43]

The "Irish Home Rule Question" – especially during crisis points such as 1885-6, and 1893 – was a political issue that provoked a great deal of interest throughout Europe. Editorial opinion gradually became rather sympathetic to the nationalist and Gladstonian arguments, especially after the House of Lords veto in September 1893. Much of the actual reporting on Ireland was mediated through an English lens, partly because correspondents for international newspapers usually seemed content to remain more-or-less rooted to London, and partly because reports were often syndicated in entirety from publications such as *The Times*. Vallentin certainly

seemed sympathetic to Irish Home Rule, and this sympathy was a motivating factor in undertaking the tour in 1893. He was clearly an Anglophile, and like many European liberals he adhered to the notion that, overall, Britain was a liberal political force in Europe. The Irish issue was, to him, an anomaly, but in 1893 it finally seemed to be on the verge of a successful resolution. His impressions of Ireland were often mediated by Anti-Parnellite figures (and he later accompanied Michael Davitt during the Mayoman's visit to Stockholm in 1904[44]). Nevertheless, he complained that the divisions between Parnellite and Anti-Parnellite wings of nationalism were more bitter than those that existed between nationalism and unionism, which suggests disappointment that the national movement had fractured, and possibly weakened as a result.

ENDNOTES

1 As the two seem sometimes to be confused, it is worth noting that this is not Hugo Valentin (1888-1963, surname spelled slightly differently), the prominent Swedish historian of anti-Semitism who e.g. reported on Nazi atrocities in Poland in 1942, and who gave his name to the University of Uppsala's Hugo Valentin Centre.

2 *Aftonbladet* (described by Nordstrom as "Sweden's first truly modern newspaper") was founded in Stockholm in 1830, as a vehicle for broadly defined "liberalism", and Kurunmäki notes that "during the 1830s and 1840s the paper was a forum for different sorts of political radicalism." Byron J. Nordstrom, *Culture and Customs of Sweden* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2010), p. 84; Jussi Kurunmäki, *Representation, Nation and Time: The Political Rhetoric of the 1866 Parliamentary Reform in Sweden* (Jyväskylä, 2000), p. 20. Circulation in 1890 was estimated to be approximately 13,000. By 1893, under editor-in-chief Harald Sohlman, the newspaper's line became had more conservative, although Vallentin's writing seems much more in keeping with its traditional liberalism. For a self-produced overview of the newspaper's history in English, see <http://wwwc.aftonbladet.se/amc/stefan/english.html> [accessed 1 July 2018].

3 *Aftonbladet*, 11 Aug. 1893.

4 F. Whyte, *A Bachelor's London: memories of the day before yesterday, 1899-1914* (London, 1931), p. 252.

5 All translations are the author's own.

6 *Aftonbladet*, 11 Aug. 1893.

7 Vallentin here uses "O'Connell Street" rather than "Sackville Street" (which he acknowledges to be its "conservative name".)

8 *Aftonbladet*, 19 Aug. 1893.

9 Stephen Ball (ed.), *Dublin Castle and the First Home Rule Crisis: The Political Journal of Sir George Fottrell, 1884-1887* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 177. Patton (1836-1896) remained editor until the late 1890s.

10 The *Irish Daily Independent* was launched in April 1893 specifically as a Pro-Parnellite paper. Edward Byrne, originally from Tuam, had been editor of the *Tuam News*, and later the *Freeman's Journal*. Despite being "largely forgotten" by the public, Byrne was a close associate of Parnell, and was responsible for editing his memoir. Frank Callanan, Edward Byrne (ed.), *Parnell: A Memoir* (Dublin, 1991), p. 1; Patrick Maume, "The Irish Independent and Empire, 1891-1919", in Simon J. Potter (ed.), *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain* (Dublin, 2004), p. 125. Marie-Louise Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism: The Irish Provincial Press 1850-1892* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 72, 119.

11 *Aftonbladet*, 26 Aug. 1893.

12 John Burns (1858-1943) was a prominent trade unionist and had been a key figure in the 1889 London Dock Strike. Within Labour circles, he was closely associated with Davitt, particularly in the early 1890s.

13 It would in fact by more than a decade before Davitt was able to visit Vallentin in Sweden. See Andrew G. Newby, "'A True Friend of Scandinavia': Michael Davitt's Northern Travels of Summer 1904", in F. Barber, H. Hansson & S. Dybris McQuaid (eds), *Ireland and the North* (Bern, 2019, forthcoming).

14 *Aftonbladet*, 23 Sep. 1893.

15 See e.g. the photographs by Robert French. National Library of Ireland, Lawrence Photograph Collection, Lawrence New Series L_NS_00283, 00288, 00604, 00733, 01054, 01057. 01386. Roche's was a long-established hotel catering for the south-west tourist trade. It was recorded as early as 1853 that it had been "much enlarged and improved, to satisfy the wants and meet with wishes of victors". [Mr.] S.C. Hall & [Mrs.] S.C. Hall, *Handbooks for Ireland: The South and Killarney* (London, 1853), p. vii.

16 *Aftonbladet*, 14 Oct. 1893.

17 Vallentin's description is very similar to that presented in nineteenth-century tourist guides: for example: "the road from this to Kenmare, which was constructed many years since by the celebrated Scotch engineer, Nimmo, ascends a mountainous ridge, and affords fine views of the picturesque valley beneath. On the summit of the ridge the road passes through a tunnel in the rock, when we enter the county of Kerry and obtain a sight of the Reeks." *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Ireland* (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1857), pp. 178-9.

18 Joseph V. O'Brien, *William O'Brien and the Course of Irish Politics, 1881-1918* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 75-80.

19 See L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Coercion and Conciliation in Ireland 1880-1892: A Study in Conservative Unionism* (Princeton, 1963), pp. 253-4; Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule: An Irish History* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 69-70; Sally Warwick-Haller, *William O'Brien and the Irish Land War* (Dublin, 1990), p. 131.

20 Vallentin's account provies an interesting counterpoint to the *Irish Times*' report of the Viceroy's visit. Here, it was reporteded that Houghton's "passage through the city was marked by no demonstration, and at the station only a very small crowd had collected, and but for the presence of the police and the military the departure of the train would have presented only the usual features. As the train moved away, not a single cheer was raised by the spectators. There were no decorations in the town. The Viceregal visit appears to have been regarded with the utmost indifference by all classes." *Irish Times*, 28 Jun. 1893.

21 *Aftonbladet*, 4 Nov. 1893. The idea of Galway as a "Spanish City" was well established as a tourist trope by the 1890s. Conversely, however, the idea of tourists projecting their preconceived ideas onto the city was noted in 1844 by James Johnson, who argued that "if it a traveller traversed the streets of Galway, without having read any descriptions of this Old Spanish City, he would notice very few vestiges of Iberian manners, customs, or buildings." James Johnson, *A Tour in Ireland; with Meditations and Reflections* (London, 1844), p. 172.

22 Rice regularly chaired the Galway Petty Sessions. *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1729 (17 Feb. 1894), p. 388.

23 Rice died in Dublin's Mater Hospital, aged 50, in July 1895. The *Galway Express*, in a long obituary and account of the funeral, referred to a "universally beloved gentleman… no man, professional or otherwise, was held in higher esteem than Dr. Rice, whose name was known in every household, more especially among the poorer class of the community, with whom he was a general favourite, and was spoken of as the friend of the needy and the comforter of the afflicted. In fact his name was a household word in Galway, and his presence in the home of the sick was like sunshine to the drooping flower." Quoted in *Newry Reporter*, 8 Aug. 1895.

24 Amongst other episodes, Rice administered to the executed members of the Joyce family after the

Maamtrasna Murders in 1882. *Irish Times*, 16 Dec. 1882. He gave evidence about the condition of Galway to the Royal Commission on Working Class Housing in May 1885. *Third Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the Housing of the Working Classes. Ireland* (London, 1885), pp. 80-87. Rice was also in regular attendance at nationalist meetings in Galway throughout the 1880s and early 1890s.

25 *Freeman's Journal*, 3 Sep., 4 Sep. 1889, 18 Dec. 1889, 7 Mar., 14 Mar. 1891; *Manchester Times*, 7 Sep. 1889; *Flag of Ireland*, 21 Dec. 1889.

26 One critic "noticed with some suspicion" the "constant visits" by Rice to Galway prison, despite the fact that the "captives were always declared to be enjoying excellent health". This, the author believed, reflected Rice's close relationship with "the Bishop of the diocese", and upon their release, Dillon and O'Brien were "whisked" off to breakfast with the Bishop, before they "publicly abjured Parnell and all his works". The conclusion was that "they were not allowed the opportunity of consultation or consideration, but committed at once to the clerical side. It was all beautifully managed, and reflects great credit on Dr. Rice's diplomacy." Quoted in *Flag of Ireland*, 15 Aug. 1891.

27 The house was reconstituted in its present site, with text added, in 1854, "confirming" the story from 1493. See James Mitchell, "Mayor Lynch of Galway: A Review of the Tradition," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 32 (1966-71), pp. 5-72.

28 Hardiman's footnote states that "most of the minor incidents contained in this narrative are the offspring of fancy, but this by no means affects the truth of the principal occurrence." He describes the father, James Lynch Fitz-Stephen, as an "opulent merchant… elected mayor in 1493", who visited Cadiz and agreed to bring back a son of a certain Gomez, a business associate. The beautiful woman who caused the row between the two young men, Hardiman calls Agnes. One of the alternative accounts given in the footnote accords most closely with Vallentin's, which implies that the young Irishman had been to Spain rather than the father. James Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway* (Dublin, 1820), p. 70.

29 James Perry was from Garvagh, Co. Derry, and became County Surveyor of Galway in 1882. *Grace's Guide to British Industrial History* notes *Grace's Guide* notes that "in 1888, in conjunction with his brother, Professor John Perry, and another, he built and equipped an electric station at Galway, from which power was supplied to private consumers. In the following year the partners obtained the Galway electric lighting order and proceeded to extend their works and put down additional machinery." <https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/James_Perry_(1845-1906)> [accessed 1 Jul. 2018]. Alice Perry, James' daughter, was the first woman in Ireland to graduate with an engineering degree (RUI, Galway, 1906), and was appointed interim surveyor for the country after her father's death. Christopher D. Myers, *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era* (Basingstoke, 2010), p. 218, n. 178.

30 The optimism towards "incandescent lamps" powered by the Corrib was such that it was claimed in 1890 that "there is sufficient water-power in the town of Galway to turn all the mills in Ireland". *Electrical Review* (New York), 10 May 1890.

31 See John Cunningham, *A Town Tormented by the Sea: Galway, 1790-1914* (Galway, 2004), p. 270 for a concise account of the foundation of the *Galway Express*, which was published between 1853 and 1920.

32 *The Electrical Engineer*, 6 Aug. 1897 noted: "Mr John M'Dougall, JP, states that the *Galway Express* and all the machinery in the Express office has been worked by electricity as the motive power for the

past three years."

33 This accords with Rice's evidence to the Royal Commission on Working Class Housing, where he agreed that many of the houses in his area were "barely fit for habitation, some of them are not at all fit for habitation, and some are of the most wretched description." *Third Report*, q. 24,158. Given the itinerary, it seems like that these townlands were along the road towards Coolough.

34 Hugh de Burgh-Canning, 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde, was one of the most notorious of Irish landowners. The resistance to eviction on his lands in Woodford became a key element of the nationalist narrative of the "Plan of Campaign", led by Rice's friends O'Brien and Dillon. With Michael Davitt having recommended Vallentin's detour to New Tipperary, as well as arranging the meeting with a National League official at Limerick, the Swede's week in Ireland adhered to a strong anti-Parnellite Nationalist agenda.

35 The original has "landcourt" as a compound word in English.

36 Presumably *go n-éiri an* bóthar leat, or derivation.

37 See e.g. Maureen Langan-Egan, *Galway Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 36-7.

38 For details, see the *Landed Estates Database:* <http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie/LandedEstates/jsp/estate-show.jsp?id=717> [accessed 1 Jul. 2018]).

39 Vallentin (and therefore by extension, Rice) seems to be confusing Thomas Blake (the father) and Valentine Blake (the current proprietor, who was the "Sunday Man"). See also Seán Spellissy, *The History of Galway* (Limerick, 1999), p. 137.

40 This expression became a Kilping catch-phrase, but its initial use had been as recent as 1888 (in the short story *Soldiers Three: Mulvaney*). One of Kipling's biographers notes that the "phrase caught on like an epidemic in the 'nineties." Charles Carrington, *The Life of Rudyard Kipling*, (London, 1955), p. 70.

41 *Illustrated London News*, 30 Apr. 1921. In 1912 he published a popular book about his new hometown, part memoir and part tourist guide (in Swedish). Hugo Vallentin, *London* (Stockholm, 1912), and was said to know the city "better than most non-natives" (Åbo Underrättelser, 1 Mar. 1921).

42 *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 18 Apr. 1925; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 Nov. 1913; Albert Engström, *Ur Mina Memoarer Och Annat*, (Stockholm, 1946) p. 50.

43 *Göteborgs Dagblad*, 25 Feb., 26 Feb. 1921; *Dagens Nyheter*, 26 Feb., 1 Mar. 1921 *Svenska Dagbladet*, 26 Feb., 1 Mar., 9 Mar. 1921; *Aftonbladet*, 27 Feb., 1 Mar. 1921.

44 *Aftonbladet*, 6 Jul. 1904.